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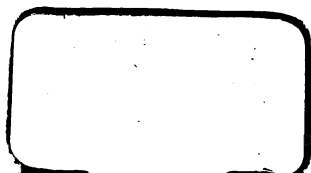
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# The Holy Eastern Church.

*(With Illustrations.)*









1. Peter  
2. Thomas  
3. Paul

4. Metropolitans, now Roman Bishops.

5. The Lamb of God, signifying (it is said) the lost sheep of human kind.  
6. The Pope or Bishop. (Not to be borne on Christ's shoulders, as is supposed originally to be on consecrated bread. The Lamb of God, and the twelve Apostles.)

# **The Holy Eastern Church:**

**A POPULAR OUTLINE OF**

**ITS HISTORY, DOCTRINES, LITURGIES,  
AND VESTMENTS.**

**BY**

**A PRIEST OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH.**

## **The Preface**

**BY**

**THE REV. DR. LITTLEDALE**

**Second Edition.**

**LONDON:**

**J. T. HAYES, LYALL PLACE, EATON SQUARE;**

**AND**

**4, HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT GARDEN.**

**1873.**

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## P R E F A C E .

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ONE of the beneficial results flowing from what would otherwise have been simply an unmixed evil, the Crimean War, has been a quickened interest in all which concerns the doctrines and practices of the Holy Eastern Church, the most ancient and conservative of Christian communities, the august parent whence all other Churches, even Rome herself, derive their origin, their constitution, and their rites. Several attempts had been made at earlier periods to attract the attention of Englishmen to the venerable Orthodox Communion, but the labours of Rycaut and

Covel and King had no practical issue, and were unknown beyond a very narrow circle of scholars, as proved to be the case, even in our own day, with the still more learned toils of Dr. Neale. It was impossible, however, for thoughtful men to find themselves engaged in a war in defence of the Crescent against the Cross, without meditating on such a singular inversion of the old Crusading spirit, and desiring to know somewhat more of that unfamiliar type of Christianity with which they were being brought face to face. Ever since that time a lively interest in all which concerns the religious usages of the Christian East has been roused amongst us, and has been fostered by the graceful and brilliant, if not very accurate or profound work of Dean Stanley.

A higher motive than that of mere

curiosity has, still more recently, been at work to stimulate yet further this spirit of inquiry. The eager longing after the Reunion of Christendom, which seems to have suddenly sprung up in the most unexpected quarters, amidst nations and communities divided by centuries of mutual ignorance or strife, has taken outward shape in this Country and in Russia, by the commencement of overtures for a reconciliation between Moscow and Lambeth; and the impetus of the movement has made itself felt also in Constantinople and Athens. Even that part of the public which is usually most apathetic in all religious questions has been moved from its languor very recently by the reception given to an Eastern prelate during his brief sojourn in England. But no adequate means of satisfying inquirers, with but



little time for study, have hitherto been readily attainable amongst us. The standard books are large and costly ; the cheaper ones, such as the sketch of the Greek Church, issued by the Religious Tract Society, are unsatisfactory and misleading.

It has been the aim of the writer of the following pages, to place in the hands of his readers a sketch, which though of necessity a mere outline, shall be accurate so far as it goes, and thus protect all those who refer to it, from the commonest of literary perils in a difficult subject ; that of acquiring opinions which advancing knowledge teaches to be untrustworthy, and which must be slowly and painfully unlearned, at the cost of more mental toil than the acquisition of real information ever entails. The Oriental

Church, with many drawbacks of its own, has yet very much to teach us ; and in the work of revival, true reformation which has been happily begun in the religious life of England, many useful precedents and lessons can be gathered from the hoary experience of the East. The more widely these lessons are studied, the greater the variety of minds that can be induced to apply them, the more hopeful will be the prospects of Re-union. and full recovery of the heritage of our fathers in the days of primitive Christianity.

R. F. L.

London,

S. Barnabas, 1870.



## THE EASTERN CHURCH.

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THE subject of the Greek or Eastern Church is one which has not received from English people that attention which it deserves—owing perhaps to the want of information which generally prevails about it.

And yet the subject is one full of interest for all.

When the classical scholar turns his thoughts back to that land of Greece on which the studies of his boyhood centred, he cannot but be interested in the present condition of its villagers and mountaineers and fishermen: he

must wish to know what is the Faith now taught and held by the descendants of Codrus and Miltiades, Themistocles and Leonidas, Pericles and Plato, in

“ Those isles of Greece  
Where burning Sappho loved and sung :  
Where grew the arts of war and peace:  
Where Delos rose and Phœbus sprung.”

Or, when the student of the New Testament reads the Epistles of S. Paul, he must often ask himself the question, What is the condition of those Churches now to which these Epistles were written ?

Are there Christian congregations still in Thessalonica, and Corinth, and Philippi ? And, if so, what are the Christian Thessalonians, and Corinthians, and Philippians doing ? Have they kept the faith pure which was delivered to them by S. Paul ? Are they still serving the living and true God, and waiting for His Son from Heaven ?

And then, if he turns his thoughts farther eastward, he must desire to know what is the condition of those Churches in Asia planted by S. Paul and S. Barnabas, and Silvanus and Timotheus, such as Ephesus and Galatia and Colossæ; he must wish to know something of those Seven Churches to which He who still walks "in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks," addressed those parting words with which the volume of inspiration closes.

And then the subject before us leads our thoughts to spots more sacred still: then we come to holy ground, to that country which is now but a small canton of Syria, but, over whose acres walked those blessed feet

"Which eighteen hundred years ago were nailed  
For our advantage to the bitter cross."

And once more. Passing further eastward still, we come to those far-off regions

of Armenia and Mesopotamia and Chaldæa, to the banks of the Euphrates, beside whose waters the heathen Abram dwelt, the Father of the Christian Church, and where God's praises are now sung by those who are the children of Abraham by faith in Christ Jesus.

Over these, and other countries of equal interest, the Eastern Church extends.

The subject then is surely one about which we ought to make ourselves acquainted, and which cannot fail to interest those who are living members of that Holy Catholic Church which throughout the world acknowledges Christ to be the Lord.

And yet it is surprising how much ignorance and indifference prevail among us English people concerning the Eastern Church, except among scholars and divines. Any one who attempts to collect some definite information on the subject will be at

once aware how little is generally known of its past history, its venerable doctrines, its unchanging practices.

Dr. King observes of the Russian Church :—

The many falsehoods and ridiculous stories reported of this Church, and spread over all countries, persuaded me that this is a subject hitherto little known : nor shall we wonder at the number of those falsehoods, if we reflect that the accounts we have had, for the most part, have been given by travellers who knew nothing either of the language or of the matter ; but went into a church, stared about them, and then came home and published an account of what they saw according to their own imagination, frequently taking an accidental circumstance for an established custom, and not seldom totally misunderstanding whatever they beheld : the consequence has been that their mistakes, for want of being contradicted and cut off at first, have grown and multiplied by being copied and translated from one language into another.

These remarks were true a century ago : and they are not altogether untrue at the present day.



There is a story of an Armenian Priest who told his congregation all he knew about us Englishmen in the following words :—

You wish to know whether the English are Christians. They are Christians. They even have the Eucharist, such as it is. Once a year the minister goes up into the pulpit with a large basket of bread on his arm : these he flings about among the people, who thus have a scramble for it in the church. They also have another religious ceremony called the National Debt, which consists in offering a large sum of money every year to the Emperor of the French, a ceremony much disliked and murmured at by the people.

We are ready to laugh at the expense of this Armenian Priest ; but Eastern Christians might on their side fairly charge us with notions respecting their worship and doctrine as confused, absurd, and untrue as those of the Priest in Armenia of the doctrine and ritual of the Church of England.

But, it may be asked, What is the use of

interesting ourselves about the Eastern Church? What is the use of our making ourselves acquainted with its position in Christendom and its system of worship? It may be argued that it is a corrupt Church like the Church of Rome, and that the less we know about either the better: and it may be asked, What are the advantages to be derived from such a study?

We may answer the question in the language of a popular and gifted writer.\* He says:—

A knowledge of the existence and claims of the Eastern Church keeps up the equipoise of Christendom. The Church of Rome presents us with the idea of high ecclesiastical pretensions: of an elaborate ritual: of outward devotion: of wide dominion: of venerable tradition. It is close at hand; and therefore, whether we attack or admire, it fills the whole of our view. But this effect is considerably modified by the apparition of the Eastern Church. Turn from Rome to Constanti-

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\* Dean Stanley on the Eastern Church.

nople, and we shall see that there are two kings in the field, two suns in the heavens : that figure which seemed so imposing when it was the only one which met our view, changes all its proportions when we see that it is out-topped by a vaster, loftier, darker figure behind. If the voice of authority is confident at Rome, it is hardly less confident at Constantinople. Beyond the Carpathian mountains, beyond the Ural range, there are unbroken successions of Bishops, long calendars of holy men, unrecognised in the Roman Church, who can return anathema for anathema as well as blessing for blessing. In the eyes of orthodox Greeks the Pope is not the representative of a faith pure and undefiled ; but (to use their own words) the Pope is the first Protestant, the founder of German rationalism. The Eastern Church speaks of the Papal supremacy as the chief heresy of the latter days : the Pope of Rome has fallen out of the mystic circle of the five Patriarchs by dropping the name of Patriarch, by substituting the name of Pope (or Papa) of the whole Church.

This, then, is one answer to the question, "What is the use of making ourselves acquainted with the history and doctrines of the Eastern Church ?"

It opens our eyes to the vanity of those high-sounding pretensions which the Church of Rome puts forward to Catholicity, antiquity, and supremacy: the Roman Catholic Church, which used to appear so imposing, shrinks into its more true and limited proportions when we see that it is overshadowed by another Church more ancient, more Catholic, than itself, and which never acknowledged those pretensions of the Papacy which have been the chief cause of the schisms of Christendom.

When we speak of the Eastern or Greek Church, let us clearly understand that we do not mean a separate Church from our own, but a Branch of that one Catholic and Apostolic Church in which we express our belief whenever we repeat the Nicene Creed. The division of the Church into Eastern and Western Christendom, as we commonly call it, has its origin in the two

great political divisions into which the civilized world was broken up when Constantine, the first Christian Emperor, founded Constantinople, the first Christian city, which he made the new capital of the Roman world, and in which a union was made for the first time between Church and State.

But the Christian Church is not the creation of the State, but the creation of the Lord Jesus Christ, and He created it *one*; and one it might have remained, notwithstanding its natural political divisions, had it not been for the ambitious pretensions of the Bishops of Rome. There is therefore but one Body—there cannot be more than one Body—one outward visible Church; but that part of it which we call Eastern is unquestionably more ancient than the Western, inasmuch as it was in the East that Christ and His Apostles first planted a Church in the world.

And this antiquity of the Greek Church is a point which it is interesting for *us* to notice, who have ourselves suffered from the arrogant pretensions of the Church of Rome. The Eastern or Greek Church reminds us of a time when the tongue not of Rome but of Greece was the sacred language of Christians. The New Testament was written in Greek: this was the native language of the Apostle S. Paul, and was understood and spoken in his time by men of letters throughout the civilized world. The Roman Church itself was originally but a colony of Greek Christians: the first Popes were not Latins but Greeks: the early Fathers wrote in Greek: the Eastern Church is the mother and the Western Church is the daughter. As has been well said—"The humblest peasant who reads his Septuagint and New Testament in his own mother tongue on the hills of Bœotia may proudly feel

that he has an access to the original oracles of Divine truth which Pope and Cardinal reach by a barbarous and imperfect translation.\* All the rites and ceremonies, moreover, of the Catholic Church testify by their names that their origin was Greek. "Ecclesiastic," "Bishop," "Priest," "Deacon," "Monk," "Liturgy," "Litany," "Eucharist," "Epiphany," "Church," these and other words in common use among us now, prove beyond a doubt that the first Christian Society was Greek in its origin: in point of antiquity, therefore, the Eastern Church must be considered as the mother of all others.

And next to its antiquity, the most important point to be remembered is the wide-spread extent of the Eastern or Greek Church.

Its jurisdiction prevails at the present

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\* Dean Stanley.

day over a greater extent of country than that of any other branch of the Church in the world: its communion includes now a population of at least 70,000,000:—Some 70,000,000 persons are baptized members of the holy Eastern Church.\*

Over these Christians preside somewhere about 300 Bishops—who are in their turn grouped under five Patriarchates—that of Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, Constantinople, and Moscow: Rome was originally one of the Patriarchates, but it has since fallen out of the number of them, and Moscow has been substituted in its place.† But under these Patriarchates the numbers of Christians are unequally divided. That

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\* Dean Stanley roughly computes them at 100,000,000.

† The Patriarchal throne of Moscow is now, however, and ever since the time of Peter the Great, in Commission, exactly as the great offices of Lord High Treasurer and Lord High Admiral are in the



of Alexandria has now only 5000 souls, and one Suffragan Bishop : while that of Moscow has, perhaps, 50,000,000 ; that of Constantinople 11,000,000 ; that of Antioch 50,000 ; that of Jerusalem 25,000 : there are also other independent Churches, such as that of Cyprus, Austria, Servia, Montenegro, and the whole Kingdom of Greece, including the Islands of the Archipelago, where the diocese of the Archbishop of Syra and Tenos, now so well-known to English Churchmen, is situated. Six languages are used in this Communion in the services of the Church : the Hellenic, Georgian, Slavonic, Arabian, Turkish, and Wallachian ; and three or four more in particular localities, such as German, Chaldean, and Syriac.

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English Government. The Archbishopric is intact, but the special authority once in the hands of its tenant is now shared with other members of a great board, called the Holy Governing Synod.

A writer already referred to, remarks as follows on this great and unknown Church: \*—

The field of Eastern Christendom is a comparatively untrodden field. It is out of sight, and, therefore, out of mind. But there is a wise German proverb which tells us that it is good, from time to time, to be reminded that "behind the mountains there are people to be found." This, true of all large bodies of the human family from whom we are separated by natural or intellectual divisions, is eminently true of the whole branch of the Christian family that lies in the far East. Behind the mountains of our knowledge, of our civilization, of our activity; behind the mountains, let us also say, of our ignorance, of our prejudice, of our contempt, is to be found nearly a third part of Christendom—100,000,000 of souls professing the Christian faith. Even if we enter no further into their history it is important to remember that they are there. What they may lose in historical they gain in geographical grandeur. The recollections awakened by the names of the localities where the Church is planted are of the most august kind:

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\* Dean Stanley.

Athos in Turkey, Sinai in Arabia, Ararat in Armenia, the Cedars of Lebanon, these are sanctuaries in which the religion of the East has successively entrenched itself. The Nile still holds its sacred place in the liturgies of Egypt—the Jordan, from Constantine downwards, has been the goal of every Eastern Pilgrim.

Or, to quote the language of another modern and learned writer\*—the eloquence and enthusiasm of which we must admire:—

Uninterrupted successions of Metropolitans and Bishops stretch themselves to Apostolic times: Venerable liturgies exhibit doctrine unchanged and discipline uncorrupted. The same sacrifice is offered, the same hymns are chanted by the Eastern Christians of to-day as those which resounded in the Churches of S. Basil or S. Firmilian. . . . In the glow and splendour of Byzantine glory: in the tempests of the Oriental middle ages, in the desolation and tyranny of the Turkish Empire, the testimony of the same immutable Church remains unchanged. Extending herself from the Sea of Okhotsk to the Palaces of Venice: from the ice

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\* Neale's Holy Eastern Church.

# A DEACON



- (1) Stoicharion or cassock, commonly made of silk or velvet, anciently always white.
- (2) Orarion—or praying Vestment—it is said the deacon gave the signal of prayer with it is commonly worked with crosses, or sometimes with the words "Holy, Holy, H
- (3) Epimanikia, sleeves reaching to the elbow, signifying (it is said) the towel with which Christ was girded

The Church extending over that wide range of countries that we have mentioned, includes within her pale these three groups :—

1. The Greek Church.
2. The Russian Church.
3. The so-called Heretical Churches.

I. The first great branch of the Eastern Church is called the *Greek Church*, or the Great Church, or the Orthodox Imperial Church. It includes the wide-spread race which speaks the Greek language. It comprehends the old Apostolic Churches of Asia Minor. Its southernmost outpost is the convent in the desert of Mount Sinai. “It represents to us the old glorious, world-inspiring people of Athens, Thebes, and Sparta. It is the only living representative of the Hellenic race; and however in Asia and Constantinople the Church has sunk under the barbarism of Turkish conquerors, in the little kingdom of

independent Greece, the superior clergy are still, within narrow limits, an enlightened body. In it lives the liberal democratic spirit of ancient Hellas. Athens is now the centre of enlightenment and education to the Greek clergy through the Levant."

The language of that impartial witness, Dr. King, with reference to the Russian clergy, may be quoted, as applicable to those Greek clergy with whom modern travellers have been brought in contact, and one of whom has lately visited our own shores:—

I can say with truth of those with whom I have the honour of a personal acquaintance, and I believe in general of the rest, that the superior clergy of Russia, at this time, are men whose candour, modesty, and truly primitive simplicity of manners would have illustrated the first ages of Christianity. Their way of living, from the nature of their order, being all monks, is very rigid—but their manners are gentle, as their life is austere—they are perhaps a little too partial to the ceremonies of their own Church,

but they are far from being bigoted, or thinking there can be no salvation out of the pale of their Communion.

Constantinople is the sacred city to which the eyes of the Greek race and of the whole Eastern Church are turned at this day : as it was the point to which the eyes of the whole Christian world were turned, when at the opening of the fourth century it rose as the first Christian city at the command of the first Christian Emperor : The Church in Greece, however, is *altogether independent* of the Patriarch of Constantinople : it is governed solely by the Holy Synod, composed of seven Archbishops : the Bishops are elected by this Synod, the civil power having no share in their appointment.

Under this general title of Greek or Orthodox Church we may class also those deeply interesting Churches of Servia and Bulgaria, and other tribes on the banks

of the Lower Danube : in communion with the Patriarchate of Constantinople, though themselves national and independent Churches. To these may be added the extensive Colony of Greek Christians, - who, under the name of "Raitzen," occupy large districts in Hungary, and form the extreme westernmost outposts of the Eastern Church.

II. The *Russian Church* may be said to make up the second great branch of Eastern Christendom.

Russia is the youngest of the nations who have been born into the family of the Christian Church. Her conversion may date from the baptism of Vladimir, A.D. 988. She was originally dependent on the Patriarch of Constantinople, from whom she received her Christianity ; and is in communion with him still : for though the Czar of Russia is now often said to be head of the Russian Church, Russian



theologians deny that any such headship is claimed or allowed, except in temporalities. If the Eastern Church is bound to the past by its Greek and Asiatic traditions, the great Christian nation of Russia, whose dominion spreads over the whole East of Europe, Northern Asia, and a large tract of Western America, forms her bond of union with the present and the future. In Russia, Church and State are most happily united—for the present Imperial Family and reigning Czar are the descendants and representatives of the greatest of her Patriarchs ; for a parish priest, who afterwards became Bishop of Moscow, was the ancestor and founder of the house of Romanoff, and the Russian Church thus unites the kingdom and the priesthood.

III. The *third* great division of the Eastern Church comprises those so-called heretical Churches which are scattered

through Syria, Egypt, Armenia, and Kurdistan. They are the self-governed National Churches of the countries in which they are situated: what we may call the Protestant Churches of the East, they have protested against the supposed innovations of the great Mother Church of Constantinople: but they are regularly constituted, inasmuch as they have an episcopal order and an ordained priesthood: they hold with a desperate fidelity to the doctrines of the Church as expressed in our Nicene Creed, which was drawn up at the first two General Councils of Christendom; they are called heretical because they stop there, and have not endorsed the next two General Councils of the Eastern and Western Church. (*See Note A.*)

The first of these Churches is that of Chaldæa, the birth-place of Abraham: it has been a pre-eminently Missionary

Church, sending out ambassadors of the Gospel as far eastward as China, as far south as Ceylon. This Church is commonly called Nestorian, being identified with the opinions of Nestorius, who was condemned at the Council of Ephesus. It is now co-extensive with the country of Kurdistan. In early times their Metropolitan assumed the title of Patriarch of Babylon : from among them S. Peter dates his first general Epistle. (1 S. Peter v. 13.)

Secondly there come the *Armenian* Churches, which occupy the mountain tract around Ararat, and have also been called (though most unjustly) heretical ; they retain the curious custom of using the dead hand of their first Patriarch at every consecration of the bishops. Kars is one of their chief cities, where the memorable siege was sustained in the late Russian war. They have been called the Quakers and the Jews of the East, from their

world-wide influence as traders and merchant-princes.

The Church of Syria comes next in order. This is the oldest of all Gentile Churches, and to the chief Pastor of Antioch, alone in the world, by right belongs the title of Patriarch. Ignatius the Martyr, and S. Ephrem Syrus, known as a hymn writer, and as the originator of hospitals for the sick poor, were members of the Syrian Church. We have lately become familiar with it through the accounts of the mutual feuds of the Druses and Maronites,\*

The Druses are not Christians; the Maronites are Syro-Roman Catholics.

Fourthly, and perhaps most interesting, is the old Church of Alexandria, called now

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\* The Church of Palestine, and the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, must not be confounded with the Syrian Church. It is a Colony of the Greek Church, and its Patriarch resides at Constantinople.

the Coptic, founded most probably by S. Mark: the scene of the labours of Origen and S. Athanasius. This Church alone confers ordination, not by imposition of hands, but by breathing. The Coptic Christians are interesting, as being the living descendants and representatives of those Egyptians who held Israel in bondage. The language of their services is the language of the Pharaohs. The Patriarch of Alexandria resides at Cairo.

The Abyssinian Church of Ethiopia, which is reckoned the most corrupt member of the Eastern Church, is an off-shoot of this Coptic or Alexandrian Church. It still practises the rite of circumcision, and keeps the Jewish Sabbath as well as the Christian Sunday: it alone among the Churches permits polygamy. It retains the Jewish division between clean and unclean food: it reckons dancing to be one form of worship, and retains the like-

ness of the Jewish ark as its central object of religious veneration.\*

A brief summary, such as this, of the different branches of the Eastern Church, must necessarily be, to a certain extent, uninteresting; but some such outline is necessary if we would understand what we are talking of when we speak of the Eastern Church. The object of the writer is to induce in others the study of the doctrine and ritual of so venerable a branch of the Christian Church, rather than to tell all that is to be known on the subject. For this reason let us pass on at once, without more delay, to what is likely to be more generally interesting, viz., the

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\* One Church of the West, singularly enough, has retained traces of the Jewish feeling. In Seville, on Corpus Christi Day, there is solemn dancing in procession, before the shrine containing the consecrated Sacrament, answering to the Ark with the pot of Manna under the earlier covenant.

characteristic peculiarities of this branch of the Catholic Church as regards its doctrines, ceremonies, and usages.

It is not the province of the writer either to accuse or defend the Eastern Church, or to enter upon that question which is now agitating the minds of religious and learned men as to the possibility or the probability of the breach which now divides us from her Communion being healed : but as much trustworthy information as possible has been obtained as to the present state of the Eastern Church. *Facts* which have been gathered together, are given to the reader as simply and as briefly as possible, and without any attempt to bias his judgment, either in one direction or another ; in the confidence that truth will, in the long run, prevail over prejudice or predilection, and that one fact is worth many theories. The great difficulty to be found in attempting to gather precise information on the

subject of the Eastern Church, arises from the circumstance that both travellers and scholars approach the subject from different sides, and with sympathies already enlisted, either for or against the Church. All we can do is to compare one traveller's statements with another; for in those facts alone in which writers of opposite sentiments agree have we sure standing ground; for it is very possible, even if any one were to go abroad with the praiseworthy intention of informing himself personally about the purity or corruption of the Eastern Church, that his ignorance of the languages of the countries as well as of the ancient forms of symbolism, would combine to furnish him with erroneous and extravagant notions, which we should afterwards promulgate on the authority of eye-witnesses. An English traveller heard Russian peasants, who were passing by, and saw a conversation going on in a foreign language,



exclaim, "Look at those foreigners, they are making a noise, and yet they cannot speak!" Very similar to this is the way in which we regard the worship of the Eastern Churches generally: to us it is dumb, for the language of the East, its customs and its feelings, are unknown to us.

We will describe first the essential doctrines of the Eastern Church, which she holds in *common* with us and the rest of Christendom.

The Eastern Church, beyond the *Nicene Creed*, has no general doctrinal tests. No oath like that of Pope Pius IV.: no symbolical books, strictly speaking, like those of the Protestant and Reformed Churches: no Thirty-Nine Articles, like those subscribed to in England.

But still she is not the less provided with sufficient security that the true faith shall be held. This security lies, first, in the fact that the Bible is the one rule of

faith ; and, secondly, in the terror which Eastern Christians feel of being excommunicated. While it is well known that the Church of Rome has so abused and profaned her power of excommunication as to make it ridiculous, with the Eastern Church excommunication is as much dreaded now as in the days of Chrysostom and Ambrose : the censure of a poor country priest of the Eastern Church is more felt in her communion than the anathema of a Bishop would be felt by a member of the Roman Catholic Church.

Thus is preserved from age to age a living spirit of orthodoxy ; and whatever is felt or known to form part of the faith of the Church is received with implicit veneration by her children. And on doctrine felt and known to have this sanction of the Church rests the authority of the Catechisms.

But, as has been said, our beautiful

Nicene Creed contains the ordinary *authoritative* expression of faith of the Eastern Church. Throughout her whole and vast communion this Creed is still the one bond of faith. "It is still recited in its original beautiful Greek tongue by the peasants of Greece. Its recitation is still the culminating point of the service in the Church of Russia. The great bell of the Kremlin tower at Moscow sounds during the whole time that its words are chanted. It is repeated aloud in the presence of the assembled people by the Emperor at his coronation : it is worked in pearls on the robes of the highest dignitaries of Moscow." A supposition that *one* of the words of this Creed had been altered by the Patriarch of Moscow helped to bring about a schism in the Russian Church last century. Every separate article of this Creed is taught by pictures which exhibit each several point of it. And we all are aware that the great

point of disunion between the Eastern and Western Church was the introduction by the latter into this ancient Creed of the clause which declares that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son as well as from the Father. There is, however, good reason to believe that this is more a question of words than a real difference of vital doctrine.

There is a well-authenticated story which illustrates the determination which the Eastern Church maintains that every member of it should hold by this Creed, and which shows us how summarily she deals with those who attempt to think for themselves in matters of faith.

There was, some thirty-five years ago, a certain Priest of the Eastern Church called Theophilus Cairy, a man of great learning and exemplary morality, who undertook to introduce a new religion called Cairyism, to which he succeeded in

attracting a large number of followers. For this he was arrested in 1851, as teaching religious principles forbidden by the laws of the country.

The way his Church dealt with him was as follows :—He was called before an assembly of Greek Bishops, prepared with a long and sophistical speech, by which he hoped to blind the eyes of his judges.

“We are perfectly ready,” said the President of the assembly, “to hear anything which you can allege on your own behalf, and to give you every advantage which you may fairly claim : but we are Bishops, and you are a Priest of the Holy Eastern Church ; before, therefore, we proceed further, we wish you to repeat to us the Nicene Creed.”

“With all my heart,” said Cairy, and he was about to begin when the President again stopped him.

“Stay,” said he : “that which you are

about to repeat with your lips you of course believe in your heart, and in that sense only my brethren and myself will hear you."

"Why," returned Cairy, "in that case—I—in that case—perhaps—it would be better that you hear my apology, and then I am ready to repeat anything that you desire."

"You will repeat the Nicene Creed," replied the President, "as that which you yourself hold, or you will not be heard at all."

"I cannot do that," replied Cairy, "but I will defend myself if you will allow me."

On his refusal to take this watchword of the Church into his lips, the unhappy man was condemned without further ceremony to seven years' imprisonment by command of the Government, which had at first ordered his prosecution.

Besides the Nicene Creed, the Eastern

Church holds with ourselves to the Athanasian Creed as a symbol of the Faith—so far, that it is inserted in the Book of Hours of Greece and Russia. But it differs from us on this head, in two particulars. The Athanasian Creed forms no part of the public service of the Church, having a place merely as an interesting document of religion, in one of the office-books. And the text which Oriental Christians assert to be the only genuine one, varies from Western editions in the matter of the Double Procession.

The Apostles' Creed is peculiar to the Western Church. It has never been current in the East.

It is unnecessary to say that the Eastern Church reverences the same Holy Bible as we do ; and what is more, they do all they can to encourage the reading of it among the people in their own language.

The Greek Church believes in *seven*

Mysteries or Sacraments :—Baptism, Baptismal Unction or Confirmation, the Eucharist, Confession (Roman Catholic Penance), Ordination, Marriage, Unction of the Sick.\*

Their doctrines respecting *Baptism* are in harmony with the rest of the Catholic Church—except that they insist on a trine immersion.

Respecting the Holy Communion, the Greek Church agrees more with the Church of Rome than with our own since the Reformation—*i. e.*, every Bishop, when consecrated, swears that the transubstantiation of the Body and Blood of Christ is effected by the operation of the Holy Ghost when the Priest invokes God the Father in these words—“And make this Bread the precious Body of thy Christ.”

They allow the use of the Cup, however, to the laity, and allow infants to come to

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\* Not “Extreme” Unction.



the Holy Communion immediately after Confirmation, which is united to Baptism. The Christian laity of the Eastern Church do not usually communicate more than once a year, owing to the strict preparation required, though Mass is celebrated every day by the Priest.

Points of difference between Eastern and Western Churches on the subject of the "Holy Communion" are chiefly the following :—

- a.* The *Name* is different. In the East it is called a "Liturgy;" in the West "Mass." (N.B. —This word Mass comes from the Chaldee word "missag," an offering.)
- b.* There is a difference in *place and time* of celebration. In the "East," the Altar is invariably in the east; in the "West," Altars are sometimes toward the west. In the "East," Altars are behind the Iconostasis; in the "West," they are *open*.
- c.* In the East there is no Communion on Good Friday; while the Roman Catholic clergy do communicate on Good Friday, though only in one kind.

- d.* In the Eastern Church there are five oblations, one of which is called the Agnus ; in the Roman Catholic Church there is but one.\*
- e.* In the East, water is mixed with wine *twice* ; in the West, but once.
- f.* In the East the Liturgy is celebrated in the dialect of each country ; in the West, in Latin.
- g.* The Eastern Church declares that she does not define the manner of the change of the consecrated elements ; the Roman Catholic explains and defines it.
- h.* The organ plays during the celebration in the Western Church ; never in the Eastern.
- i.* In the East, the laity communicate in both kinds ; in the West, only in one.
- k.* In the East, leavened Bread is used at the Eucharist ; in the West, unleavened.

The Sacrament of the Chrism, or Baptismal Unction, is a mystery peculiar to the Eastern Church, and holds the place of Confirmation in the Roman and English Church. It is called the Seal of the Gift of

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\* There are nine in the Mozarabic rite, anciently in use throughout Spain, and still retained in one chapel.

the Holy Ghost, and it immediately follows the immersion at Baptism. In this Sacrament the Priest anoints the person baptized with ointment, consecrated with many curious ceremonies by the Bishop.

Confession is one of the seven Mysteries of the Greeks, and is always necessary previous to receiving the Communion. The laity for the most part confess only once a year, to which they are obliged by the laws of the land. It is usual to do it during the great fast before Easter.

The Invocation of Saints is a doctrine received alike in the Greek and Roman communion: its origin is to be found in the difficulty men felt in conceiving the Lord Jesus to be the Supreme God, and at the same time the Mediator between the Almighty and mankind; hence they fell into the notion of other mediators, such as the Blessed Virgin, the Twelve Apostles, etc.

The doctrine of the Invocation of Saints is thus explained and justified by the authorised Catechism published in Russia under the sanction of the Government:—

*Q.* What means of communion has the Church on earth with the Church in Heaven?

*A.* The prayer of faith and love. The faithful who belong to the Church militant upon earth, in offering their prayers to God, call at the same time to their aid the saints who belong to the Church in Heaven, and these standing on the highest steps of approach to God, by their prayers and intercessions purify, strengthen, and offer before God the prayers of the faithful living upon earth, and by the will of God work graciously and beneficently upon them, either by invisible virtue, or by distinct apparitions, and in divers other ways.

*Q.* On what is grounded the rule of the Church upon earth to invoke in prayer the saints of the Church in Heaven?

*A.* On a holy tradition; the principle of which is to be seen also in Holy Scripture: *e. g.*, when the Prophet David cries out in prayer, “O Lord God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Israel our fathers,”

he makes mention of saints in aid of his prayer, exactly as now the Orthodox Church calls upon Christ our true God, by the prayers of His most pure Mother and all His saints.

The Greek Church admits prayers and services for the dead as an old and pious custom, and even prays for the remission of their sins; but it does by no means allow the doctrine of purgatory, or determine anything dogmatically concerning the state and condition of departed souls. Such service therefore seems to be little more than a commemoration of their deceased friends, established out of respect to the dead, and to impress on the minds of the living a sense of their mortality.

Works of supererogation, indulgences and dispensations, which were once so profitable, and afterwards so fatal, to the interests of the Romish Communion, are utterly disallowed in this.

There is no substitution in the Com-

munion Office (as has been sometimes asserted) of the name of the Blessed Virgin Mary for that of Christ. But there is one of those *addresses* to her, common in Eastern Offices, called a *Theotokion*, used at the very end of the Communion Office, just before the dismissal of the people.

The Greek Church does not, like the Latin, affect the character of infallibility.

The Greek Church differs from the Roman Catholic on the subject of the marriage of the clergy. By her laws a parish priest *must* marry before ordination, and on the death of his wife he must resign his living (as he is not allowed to marry a second time), and retire into a monastery. This rule has been broken through lately in the case of a Parish Priest in Servia. He has been allowed to retain his living, though a widower. The Bishops and Arch-

bishops, however, are chosen from the monastic clergy only, who are not allowed to marry.\*

The points of difference between the Roman Catholic and Greek Church, on the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, have been already summed up.

But we should observe one difference in the matter of Infant Communion. In Russia the custom is as follows:—

Immediately after Baptism the Sacrament of Confirmation is administered ; and the infant receives the Holy Eucharist, under the form of wine, forty days later, when its mother is to be churched. Every child continues thus to receive the Blessed Sacrament, under the form of wine, about twice a year, till it is seven years old : then

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\* There is one exception in the Russian Church. A Proto-Pope, or Senior Priest, of a body of parochial clergy, may be raised to the Episcopacy as a widower when his wife is dead.

the little one is prepared for first Confession and for *full* Communion—which it receives at that age and ever after under both kinds.

The Western Church kneels, the Eastern stands, in prayer, and in receiving the Holy Communion.

These points of difference are comparatively unimportant.

The three doctrines which present more real difficulties (in the way of re-union between the East and West) are Papal Supremacy, Purgatory, and the Procession of the Holy Spirit.

On the subject of Church Government by supremacy of the Bible, as opposed to Papal Supremacy, the text-book called the Catechism of Plato, taught in families, schools, and universities, speaks in the following important terms:—

The Church is governed by the Ministers of the New Testament under the one head, Christ. The Church is one well-ordered and well-directed com-



munion: it follows that it has a government, a government, nevertheless, not ambitious and tyrannical, but gentle and spiritual, because it is put in trust with souls. . . . . Of its shepherds some are first in authority, as Bishops; and others second, as Priests. Nevertheless, the Head of the Government of the Church and of its ministers is Christ, one, one and alone; since as He is the chief Captain and the Founder of His Church, so also is He alone its Head and Governor, directing it invisibly *with His Word* through the Holy Ghost. Wherefore the Church cannot follow any other than Christ and the plain testimony of the Word of God, so far as concerns the Faith.

It is equally clear that the place in which the souls of departed believers have their present habitation, is held, throughout the whole of the Eastern Liturgies, to be a place of rest and gladness, and that there is not one single allusion to those pains of Purgatory which Roman Catholics teach; their Liturgies pray in exactly the same terms for the saints, and even, in the earliest examples, for the Blessed

Virgin Mary herself, as those in which they intercede for every departed Christian.

Another rite, not altogether peculiar to the Greek Church, is a curious one, called the Absolution of the Dead. This is explained to mean nothing more than a declaration to others either that the deceased would have died in the communion of the Church, or with the open profession of repentance, had time and space been allowed.\*

These and other points of difference between the Eastern and Western Churches have been dwelt on by Roman Catholic writers as opposing barriers to the intercommunion of the two Churches. But the view which the most intellectual portion of the Eastern Church take of a subject which is attracting so much attention

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\* This curious rite appears in the Western Church. It is still retained as a Carthusian usage.

among us, we have stated above. Just as a Protestant eye can see no difference between Romanism and Orientalism, so an Eastern eye can discover no essential discrepancy between the Church of Rome and the Church of England. It regards both as the religions of intellect, and not faith : both as the mere development, though it may be in different directions, of Rationalism. To an Oriental the substitution of affusion for immersion in Baptism differs only in degree, not in kind, from the delay of that Sacrament as among the Anabaptists, or its rejection as among the Quakers. Greek Christians can see no essential difference between denying the Cup to the laity, or the refusing of Confirmation and the Communion to infants, and the utter rejection of every pretence at Apostolic ordination, which is the badge of so many dissenting bodies. As we have said before, they look on the Pope as a Protestant, and

consider that the whole Western Church, of which, as we know, England forms a branch, has put herself out of the pale of the Orthodox Communion.

We pass now to a description of those Churches or buildings in which the Eastern Christians celebrate divine worship. There is, as we know, a great difference between Eastern and Western ecclesiastical architecture, as great as we may see by comparing such a church as S. Pancras or S. Mary-le-bone with Westminster Abbey, or any other smaller Gothic church similar in its roof and in its arches.

It does not appear that there has been any particular form of constructing churches prescribed by other authority than custom and example. There has been no inspired plan, as there was for the Tabernacle and the Temple; but custom and tradition have preserved a sort of uniformity from age to age in all essential points, and these

points have, unquestionably, their origin in Hebrew use. The earliest Christian churches combined the leading features of the Temple and the Synagogue, and thus reproduced, with slight modifications, the outline of that Tabernacle of which the pattern was given to Moses in the Mount.

Many of the oldest churches were built of timber. One in Cyrene is described as being made of small rods interwoven, and not much more lofty than to allow a man to stand upright in it. It follows, therefore, that there must be a variation in size, and so forth, between our modern churches and these ancient structures. Such wattled churches certainly existed in many parts of Saxon England, and have been erected, in our day, at missionary stations in Eastern countries. A modern traveller, in speaking of the churches in the East, gives a detailed description of the Cathedral of Belgrade in Servia, which he says may be

taken as a specimen of all existing churches throughout the East.\*

The Cathedral is divided into a *Sanctuary*, which is cut off from the rest of the building, and hidden from the worshipping congregation by the iconastasis, or screen; the *Choir*, which is set apart for the singers; the *Nave*, where the men present at the service stand, and which is sunk one step below the choir to the east, and the narthex to the west; a double *Narthex*, where the women worship; and an internal *Porch* running the whole way across the building. Over the western narthex is a Gallery (answering to our organ gallery), of which no use seems to be made—in former times it was occupied by the women, but these, as stated above, now stand below. While some people in England would look upon it as an insup-

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\* See Plan.

portable deprivation if their cushioned and carpeted pews, were exchanged even for open benches, in a Greek church there are no seats whatever provided for either priests or people ; on the stone floor, where there is no mat or carpet, they are expected to stand or kneel, and no other posture is so much as contemplated—it would be considered an act of desecration to sit down in the house of God. What would they say of some English Christians, who habitually sit when they profess to be praying to God ?

There were no pulpits in the old Greek churches, and even in the present day there are very few to be found. One traveller mentions having lately visited forty Greek churches without having found a pulpit in any of them. The idea of preaching, as part of God's service, seems rather to have fallen into disuse in the Eastern Church ; but though the Greek Church does not use preaching as an ordinance to

the same extent as the Roman Church, she gives, as I said, far more encouragement to the laity to read God's Word for themselves, and the Greek clergy are the sole instructors and schoolmasters of the young, not only, as in England, among the rich, but also among the poor. With us, clergy are the schoolmasters of the children of the rich—in the Eastern Church they are the schoolmasters of the children of the poor also, and therefore, if the clergy have not to preach, they have enough else to do.

There are no organs, nor other musical instruments, used in the Eastern Churches, though the service is chanted, and vocal music is carried in some places to great perfection. Musical instruments are thought to savour of Judaism.

The *Iconostasis* of an Eastern church takes in some sort the place of the chancel rail, which in the churches of Western



Christendom divides the chancel from the choir. Instead, however, of being a mere rail, as with us, it is a partition, sometimes running to the roof, and almost always reaching up two-thirds of the way to it. In this screen, or partition, are three doorways, generally with a low door to each, and usually with a veil in addition. Within this space stands the altar, which is nearly square, and behind this the seat of the archbishop; on the north side of the altar is the credence table, on the south is the vestry. The iconostasis is usually painted and gilded, and illustrated with sacred subjects; lamps of silver, or, in poor churches, of glass, suspended from the ceiling, hang before it—one, seven, or fourteen, according to the wealth of the church. In front of the screen are fixed two large standard candlesticks of brass, arranged so as to admit of the number of candles being increased at pleasure.

The custom of burning candles at divine worship is very ancient, both in the East and West. The Catacomb worship is peculiar to the West, and therefore will not account for Eastern usage in the matter of lights. The analogy of the ever-burning seven-branched candlestick in the Temple is the more probable source of the custom.

A little in front of the central door of the iconostasis is the ambo, from which the Gospel is read to the people; it is a round stone of one, two, or three steps. The Font is situated in the outer Narthex, just inside the porch. In some Russian churches now they have three altars instead of a credence table and a vestry, but this is an innovation, probably borrowed from the Roman Church during the dominion of the Poles in Russia. Where this occurs, the altars are called separate churches or chapels, and dedicated to a different saint from the larger church. This multiplica-

tion of altars was probably adopted to enable the Priests to celebrate more than one Mass on the same day, as one Mass could only be said by the same Priest at the same altar on one day.

In Russia there are numbers of small buildings or chapels called Chasovena, furnished with holy pictures, which, from the name (the word "chas" signifying an hour), we may imagine to have been erected for the convenience of people assembling for the services of the hours. These buildings are often to be seen on the high roads, and especially such as are frequented by pilgrims. Any part of divine service can be performed there except the Communion.

There are also scattered over the whole of Greece an immense number of churches called Rock Chapels, because they are so frequently built at the mouths of caverns on the mountain-side, or on the summits

of inaccessible precipices. They are all extremely ancient, some almost incredibly so.

There is one not far from Athens, which stands as a strange monument of the struggle of light with darkness during those by-gone centuries whose trace yet lingers round it. It is very small, and almost in ruins, but it bears within it the records of four great epochs of alternate gloom and light, which seem to have passed over it like sunbeams chasing clouds. There is first a block of white marble, on which may be read, in distinct, though ancient characters, an inscription dedicating this temple to Pluto and all infernal gods. Over this is placed the altar of the Christian sacrifice, surmounted by a cross: the rudeness of the sculpture and peculiar form showing that at some very remote period the pagan temple had been converted into the House of God by the fol-

lowers of Christ ; but the cross is broken, the altar has been overthrown, and the pictures of the saints bear many traces of desecration at the time when the Christian church became the Mahometan mosque, and the rites of the false faith were performed within it. Lastly, the Turkish minaret then built upon it, has been destroyed and trampled under foot, the Moslem symbols all removed, and now the lamp ever burning before the altar, ruined as it is, testifies that once more the true faith of Christ crucified is triumphant there.

### VESTMENTS OF GREEK CHURCH.

I. We now pass on to speak of the " Vestments " of the officiating clergy, following mostly the authority of Neale.

The Greek Church, especially the Russian branch of it, is rich in jewels and vestments. In one monastery, about fifty

miles from Moscow, there is a single vestment of velvet and jewels worth £14,000 ; in the cathedral at Moscow there is a solid silver candlestick, branched, fourteen feet in length. But in the diagrams prefixed to this volume are seen the ordinary dress of an officiating minister, Bishop, Priest, and Deacon.

On the subject of vestments generally, let me first quote the following words, written fifteen years ago by a layman, before any controversy on this subject had arisen, and whose testimony is trustworthy and impartial. I refer to the author of Curzon's *Monasteries of the Levant*. He says :—

The sacred vestments of the Christian Church are the same, with very insignificant modifications, among every denomination of Christians in the world : they have always been the same, and never were otherwise in any country, from the remotest times, when we have any written accounts of them, or any mosaics, sculptures, or pictures to explain

their form. They are no more a Popish invention or have anything more to do with the Roman Church than any other usage which is common to all denominations of Christians. They are, and always have been, of general and universal—that is, of catholic—use; they have never been used for many centuries for ornament or dress by the laity, having been considered as set apart to be used only by priests in the church during the celebration of the worship of Almighty God. These ancient vestments have been worn by the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons of that (the Armenian) Church in common with the hierarchy of every other Church. In England they have fallen into disuse by neglect. In the Cathedral of Durham, long after the Reformation, they continued in use, in fact, almost in the memory of man.—*Curzon's Armenia*.

Let us then accompany a Greek priest into the vestry, and ask him to allow us to see him robing. Almost every part of his dress now conveys, it is thought, some symbolical teaching.

1. In robing for the celebration of Holy Baptism or of the Holy Communion, a priest first puts on a Stoicharion, the same

as the Latin alb, signifying, it is said, *purity*; as fine linen symbolises the righteousness of the saints; "Alb" is Latin for "white."

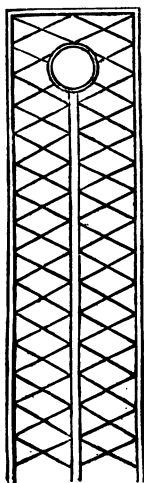
The Stoicharion used to be of linen, now it is made of silk or velvet. It is a vestment of universal use in the Greek Church. In Lent it is of a purple colour, except on the Festival of the Annunciation, Palm Sunday, and Easter Eve, when it is of the usual colour.

2. The priest next puts on the Epimanikia, or *hand* pieces. These are something like the old maniples; they hang down in peaked flaps on each side of the arm, and are fastened under the wrist with a silken cord run along the border, by which they are drawn in, and adjusted to the arm. In some mosaics of saints which adorn the walls of Nicæa, they are, however, represented under quite a different form, and approximate to the sleeve of a well-made surplice.



They are said to set forth mystically the bands wherewith our Lord was fastened when they *bound* Him. The bishops have them embroidered with an icon of Christ.

3. The priest next puts on the *Epi-trachelion*, or neck-piece; this is one form of the Latin *stole*; but, instead of its being thrown round the neck, the priest's head is put through a hole, and the vestment



hangs down in front. In large churches it is studded with gems and gold: sometimes it is of brocade, sometimes of rich silk. It is *always* worn by an officiating priest, at *all* his prayers, not only those offered in church, but those made at home preparatory to his going there to minister.

It represents, it is said, the easy yoke of Christ, which each one must put on.

4. After this comes the Zone, or Belt, which binds both the stoicharion and epitrachelion together.

5. Next he puts on the Phænonion, or Phælonion, which is the Greek *Chasuble* (Latin *pænula*). It is a vestment of very great antiquity, and is said to be the same as the phælonēs (which we translate cloak) which S. Paul left at Troas, where he had been celebrating the Holy Communion. It has of late years been miserably contracted. In Russia the upper part is cut away, so as only to cover the chest; the other branches of the Eastern Church have retained the old form, except the Armenians, who use a vestment like the Latin cope without a hood and with a standing collar, though they *call* it a Phælonion.

These *five*—the Stoicharion, the Epimanikia, the Epitrachelion, the Zone, and the Phælonion, are the *sacramental* vestments of the Greek priest, *i.e.*, which he wears

when he administers the Sacrament of Holy Baptism or the Holy Communion. The Phælonion, and also the Zone, are omitted when not administering either of these sacraments.

b. The Deacon's dress is somewhat different from the Priest's.

The deacon wears only *two* robes, the *Stoicharion* and the *Orarion*. This latter is instead of the priest's epitrachelion. This is precisely like the Latin stole, except that the words 'ΑΓΙΟΣ, 'ΑΓΙΟΣ, 'ΑΓΙΟΣ, (Holy, Holy, Holy,) are sometimes embroidered on it [derivation of word unknown; orare-os—ὡραῖον, ὥρα to point out, time of prayer]; the Armenian stole is not usually ornamented with Tersanctus.

The Deacon sometimes, though improperly, wears the Epimanikia.

c. The Bishops, when in full canonicals, wear *seven* vestments. When one of them is about to officiate in a church, he robes

# A PRIEST.



A Priest officiating in his phelonion (1), epitrachelion (2), stoicharion (4), tied round by a girdle, and his epimanikia (3).

The Phelonion is of rich silk or velvet, embroidered with gold and silver, and sometimes animals. It is always worn by the Priest when celebrating the Holy Communion.



in the middle of the church, where all may see him.

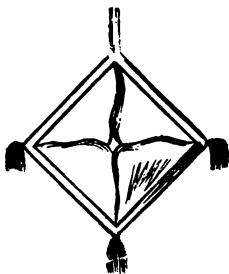
1. He puts on the Stoicharion—in his case it is wavy, with red and white bands; these are said to symbolise rivers of grace, or blood flowing from the side of Christ.

2. The Sacerdotal Epitrachelion.

3. The Sacerdotal Zone.

4. Attached to the latter is the Epigonation.

There is nothing like this in the Western Church. It is this shape, and made of brocade. This Epigonation, though properly peculiar to bishops, is also worn by Archimandrites, or heads of the greater monasteries, just as the Abbot of a great Western monastery is allowed the mitre and pastoral staff.



It was at first a mere handkerchief, and

is so still among the Armenian Bishops. It is explained to signify the towel where-with Christ girded Himself, or the sword girded on the Church's side.

5. The Epimanikia, distinguished by an icon of the Saviour, or some saint, wrought upon it.

6. Bishops formerly wore a white Phælonion (crusuly, πολυσταύριον). At present all Metropolitans, and in Russia all Bishops, wear instead the *Saccos*, the Latin Dalmatic. It represents, as is said, the robe of scorn in which our Saviour was mocked; the Armenian Bishops do not wear this, as they wear the cope.

7. All prelates wear the *Omophoriona*. This is the same as the Latin pall, except that it is broader, and fastened round the neck in a knot. It is a vestment of very great antiquity. It represents now either the Cross carried by our Lord, or the lost sheep of human nature borne on His shoulders.

The latter of these two pieces of symbolism appears the more probable, because the pall is made of wool.

These are the seven episcopal vestments:—the wavy Stoicharion, the Epitrachelion, the Zone, the Epigonation, the Epimanikia, the Saccos, and the Omophorion.

The Mitre is unknown in the Greek Church except among the Armenians, to whom the Pope sent one as a present, A.D. 1084, and who have adopted it ever since.

Greek prelates wear a kind of bonnet; the Patriarch of Alexandria wears a cap like a crown during the liturgy; an Armenian prelate puts the Mitre off and on during the celebration of it. Before an Armenian prelate begins to robe, the deacon puts the episcopal bonnet on his head for a moment, as symbolising the helmet of salvation.

Such are the Sacramental vestments.



In other rites the Stoicharion, Epitrachelion, and the Epimanikia are worn, as has been said above.

In the office of the Hours the Phælonion is worn without the Stoicharion.

A priest's every-day attire is a cassock of any sober colour which he chooses.

Archimandrites and all superior orders wear a Mandyas (like a cope, only fuller, two ends fastened in front at lower parts) and a square cap.

The episcopal ring is unknown.

The Greek priests are for the most part men of great simplicity of manners. The income of the Archbishop of Attica is about £120 a year, that of the Archbishop of Belgrade about £2000.

But with all their simplicity of habits, there is a peculiar calm and dignity in their manners and appearance, which is very striking: they never seem to forget their priestly character and responsibility,

even as they *never*, on any occasion whatever, lay aside the priestly robes ; they are always to be seen with the dark flowing garments, high cap, and black crape veil, which, from time immemorial, have been their appointed costume, moving along with an aspect of unworldly repose which seems involuntarily to command respect from all. They seldom, if ever, use the customary forms of salutation, but silently offer their hand to receive the reverential kiss, or bestow their dearly-prized blessing in return for any act of courtesy.

An elaborate attempt has been made by Mr. Wharton B. Marriott to prove that the Sacramental dress of the whole of the Eastern and Western Church, which we have described, has no claim to antiquity or to Scriptural origin ; but that the white surplice and black stole which the English clergyman has worn for the last three hundred years, and which are unknown out of

our communion now, or in it till the other day, are the true representatives of the old Apostolic ministerial dress.

His theory is, that the Christian clergy having taken up with the secular dress of their day in the fourth century, clung to it after the break-up of the Roman Empire had introduced many changes in the ordinary secular costume ; and that the clerical dress is not of Levitical origin, but only a relic of senatorial dignity.

That this view is historically incorrect, and will not bear a close examination, has been shown in the able review of Mr. Marriott's book in the *Church Times* for September 26th, 1868. To this we would refer the reader if he wishes to pursue the subject.

## ORIGIN OF VESTMENTS.

II. The only way of accounting for the universal and ancient use of *vestments* by the

Christian priesthood is, as Archdeacon Freeman observes, by supposing that they have been assimilated to those of the Jewish high priest.

The vestments ordered by God to be worn by the Jewish priests, as described in Exodus xxviii., and Leviticus viii. 7—9, and other passages, were as follows :—

Four linen vestments worn by ordinary priests.

1. Linen drawers, or “linen breeches of fine twined linen.”

2. “Holy linen coat,” or long shirt or tunic, brodered, with sleeves.

3. A linen girdle wound round and round the body, fastening the coat, its ends hanging down to the ankles.

4. A linen turban, or bonnet.

Four additional vestments, peculiar to the high priest.

5. Blue “robe of the Ephod,” made of woven-work, without sleeves, with slits in

the sides, through which appeared the white sleeves of the coat. It was of circular form, with "an hole in the top of it, in the midst thereof," to pass it over the head of the wearer, with a border of woven-work round the hole to prevent its being rent. Its hem was trimmed with alternate pomegranates and golden bells.

6. The outer "Ephod," with its "curious girdle," to fasten it round the waist, and its shoulder pieces. It consisted of two parts, one covering the breast, the other the back. These were clasped together on the shoulders by two large onyx stones, on each of which were engraved the names of six tribes. The Ephod, with its girdle, was worn immediately *over* the robe of the Ephod.

7. The "Breastplate of Judgment," fastened to the ephod (just above the curious girdle) by two rings of gold and by a lace of blue, to two corresponding rings in the

ephod, and fastened to the two onyx stones by rings and chains of gold. In it were the Urim and Thummim, and the twelve precious stones engraved with the names of the twelve tribes of Israel.

8. The Mitre (worn either instead of, or in addition to, the turban), with its broad plate of gold, *πέταλον*, or "holy crown," (Exod. xxix. 6), on which was engraved "Holiness to the Lord."

Here we have an account of the true meaning and origin of the sacramental vestments:—

The Greek name for the Priest's stole is still "neck-piece," neck-garment; or for the Bishop's stole, "shoulder-piece" (*omo-phorion*).

The mitre has its substitute in the amice, the peculiar rich "fillet" of which on the forehead is a substitute for Aaron's broad plate of gold, similarly placed.

The change from the Jewish vestments

to the Christian, much as we have it, was probably made in the Apostles' time ; for Eusebius cites Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, A.D. 198, as testifying of S. John at Ephesus that, as a priest, he wore the *πέταλον*, or plate of gold (Hist. Eccl. iii. 31) ; and Epiphanius says the same of S. James, Bishop of Jerusalem (De Hæresi, 78) ; and later on Eusebius addresses the priests as wearing the long garment, the crown, and the priestly robe (*ποδήρη, στέφανον, στολήν*.\*

The plate of gold is still used by the Alexandrian patriarch, and the breastplate by the Armenian clergy, as it was by some Latin bishops, under the name of "Rational," as late as the fourteenth century.

We see, then, adds Archdeacon Freeman, how it is that the stole is what it is in the East and West, why so symbolical of ministerial authority, why so rich, why

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\* See these interesting passages quoted at length in Mr. Wharton Marriott's book.

crossed on the breast in celebrating. We see why the "apparel" of the amice is so rich, and why placed on the forehead.

And even the ordinary vestments, the surplice, and the stole, and the hood, derive a clear explanation and fitness from the same source.

The *Surplice* (super-pellicium) is only the close "tunic," or alb, so enlarged as to cover the pellicium (*pelisse*), or coat of fur or skin which the clergy wore in the choir.

The *Stole*, crossed at the celebration of Mass, loses its resemblance to the breast-plate and its allusion to the cross, at the lower ministry of the ordinary office, being worn pendant.

The *Hood* is the amice, intended originally to be actually worn on the head, and still capable of being so.

It thus appears that the Eucharistic vestments, and even our ordinary ones, through these, are a link of a marvellously



interesting kind between us and antiquity, even to Apostolic times, and between us and the whole Christian world. Nay, our vestments, like our services and churches, connect us with Old Testament ordinances. "They ought to be grave reasons indeed which should induce us to erase them from our statute books."

These things should be borne in mind in studying the Greek vestments, and the questions which arise out of their universal use in the Church.

The High Priests of the Old Testament Church were inaugurated in their office by being clad in the above vestments for seven days. And we may reasonably suppose that the Apostles, and their immediate successors, who, as we have seen, wore priestly vestments, were instructed by our Divine Master to do so, when He spoke to them of the things pertaining to the Kingdom of God. It is argued against a Christian

priesthood, that Christ gave no such minute directions concerning it as Moses did, which have been preserved in the Word of God.

But the answer to this is, "*the practice of the whole Church since Christ's ascension.*" And the same answer may be given to an objection against vestments drawn from the silence of God's Word. A priesthood there has ever been, and that of a three-fold order; and if there ought to be a priesthood, there ought to be, and there have ever been, special vestments, which are its divinely appointed insignia.

If, because we have passed out of Judaism, we may argue against special vestments of the clergy, the same arguments may, with equal force, apply against the retention of special "Houses of Prayer," or any other outward forms and symbols of devotion.

Two concluding facts about clerical dress

ought to be calmly borne in mind, for they prove that a particular sacramental dress was in use among the Christian clergy from the earliest times.

This may be inferred (1) from a Rubric in the Clementine Liturgy.

That Liturgy is embedded in the singular compilation known as the Apostolical Constitutions, which is now accepted as an edition in the fourth century of much earlier matter.

The Rubric referred to is to the effect, that just as the *anaphora*, or offertory, of the Holy Communion is to begin, the Bishop is to put on his "splendid vestment." In other words, the Bishop and his attendant clergy have, up to this point, been celebrating the lesser part of public worship in their official costume, whatever that was; but when the more sacred service begins, when strangers, catechumens, and penitents have been dis-

missed, the celebrant adds a vestment to his dress which he had not worn hitherto.

(2.) The other fact worthy to be remembered, as proving the high antiquity and catholicity of the sacramental dress, is that, although the Eastern Church has been divided into various different communions since the Third General Council in the middle of the fifth century, yet they are all at one in this matter of the sacramental dress of their clergy.

Greeks, Russians, Armenians, Nestorians, Jacobites, Georgians, Egyptians, while disputing in theological war on other points, are one in the dress of the sacrament of love. As not one of these contending Church parties would have condescended to borrow from the other after the quarrels of the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, their unity in dress must be due to the fact that that unity prevailed earlier than the dates of those Councils.

Dr. Lee, in his work on the Validity of English Orders, gives an interesting account of the forms of Ordination in the Eastern Churches; and from this it further appears that these clerical vestments are always put upon the Deacons, Priests, and Bishops at the time of their ordination, and constitute part of their authoritative commission.

The taking from him his lay garments, and putting on him a stole by the hands of the Bishop, constitutes a part of the ordination of every deacon.

Similarly, at the ordination of every priest, the bishop clothes him in a chasuble (or Phælonion), and a Bishop, at his own consecration is always clothed with the Omophorion (or pall).

These parts of the ordination service, prevailing through the different Churches of the East, strengthen the argument drawn from the unity of the Eastern

Church in the matter of clerical dress. To this we may further add, that the recent discoveries of the fresco paintings in the subterranean church of S. Clement, at Rome, show plainly a Bishop celebrating the Eucharist in a Phelonion and Omophorion, probably as early as the time of Pope Clement I.\*

This proves that these Eucharistic vestments were of *Catholic as well as Eastern use* ; and confirm the well-established opinion that the Roman Church did not give the law to the other Churches in matter of dress and ritual, but was Greek rather than Latin during the first three centuries.

### THE GREEK LITURGIES.

It would be impossible, in a short sketch like the present, to give any account of the

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\* See a Pamphlet on this subject by Rev. J. E. Vaux.

Communion Offices of the Greek Church which would be satisfactory to scholars.

Those who desire authentic information on this subject may obtain it by referring to Neale's "Holy Eastern Church," Palmer's "Antiquities of English Ritual," Littledale's "Offices of the Eastern Church," and Neale's "Primitive Liturgies."

In the present treatise it will be sufficient to state that the authorised daily Liturgy throughout the Eastern Church at present is that of S. Chrysostom, from which our Collect, called *A Prayer of S. Chrysostom*, is taken. This Liturgy of S. Chrysostom is an offshoot of the great primitive Liturgy attributed to S. James, first Bishop of Jerusalem.

Our own Communion Office is not taken from the same source as that of the Holy Eastern Church, because, as we probably got our Orders originally from France, so

our Service also was drawn from that ancient Ephesian Liturgy, which was the parent of the Gallican Office.

Therefore, as the Greek Church draws its Communion Service from the Jerusalem Liturgy of S. James, and as the Roman Church draws hers from that attributed to S. Peter, so the British Church draws hers from the Ephesian Liturgy attributed to S. John the Divine.

And it is much to be desired that those several branches of the Christian Church which bear the names of these three Apostles, were as united in Christian worship, and in Christian missionary work among the heathen, as were those three holy men with whose names the three several Communion Services of the Catholic Church are inseparably associated.

From the present attitude of Christendom we may not unreasonably hope that our



Church which draws its divine office from the Apostle of love may be the means of bringing back our now divided worship to that state of primitive unity when all were of one heart and of one mind, and with one mouth glorified God.

As regards the Eastern Church, Mr. Denton said, eight years ago, that "in the interior of Hungary expressions of warmest admiration for the English Church may be heard from persons who have no thought of abandoning their own, but who *long for its reform* after the model of that which has been carried out by the Church of England." The realization of these hopes of union, by mutual concessions and reforms, seem becoming more possible day by day.

They have been heard as loudly expressed of late by the shores of the Euphrates, as on the banks of the Danube, by the venerable Bishop of Ephesus, as

by the Nestorians of Kurdistan, and the Orthodox Patriarch of Constantinople.

The Rev. J. O. Bagdon, late English Chaplain in Zante, has published in a pamphlet—"A Brief Comparison of the Fundamental Doctrines of the Anglican and Greek Churches."

He has done this by comparing the doctrines of the two Churches *in two parallel columns*. The one column, containing the fundamental doctrines of our Church, is made up chiefly of extracts from our Thirty-Nine Articles, Church Catechism, and Homilies, with occasional quotations from other standard authorities—such as "Wheatly on the Book of Common Prayer," and "Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity."

The other column, containing the fundamental doctrines of the Greek Church, is made up of extracts from the Common Prayer Book of the Greek Church; a

Treatise on Orthodoxy, by the Bishop of Kampania; a volume of Sermons by a Sub-deacon and Preacher of the Church at Thessalonica; and another volume of Sermons, by a Professor of Theology and Preacher in the Isle of Patmos.

He thus arrives at the following encouraging and important conclusion, in which every reader must, willingly or unwillingly, join: viz.—That no difference (worthy the name) exists between our Communion and theirs on any of these six subjects:—

I. Faith in the Holy Trinity.

II. The Holy Scriptures—their sufficiency for salvation and for a rule of faith; their Canon, &c.

III. The Sacraments in general.

IV. Holy Baptism.

V. The Holy Communion.

VI. The Priesthood and the Episcopate.

In the same way is shown our agreement on the following points :

- (a) The sources of theological science.
- (b) Original sin. (c) Christ alone without sin. (d) The Immaculate Conception.
- (e) Papal Infallibility and Supremacy.
- (f) Purgatory. (g) Sin after Baptism.

Having thus shown the points of agreement, Mr. Bagdon notices the following obstacles to re-union :

- (1) The Filioque controversy. (2) The salutation of pictures. (3) The Invocation of Saints and of the Blessed Virgin Mary.
- (4) The union between Church and State.

The first two he dismisses as unimportant—mere strife about words. With regard to the third, which is the grave *and essential point of difference between the Eastern Church and ourselves*, he affirms that *a vast proportion of the educated classes in the East are ripe and anxious for reform*. With regard to the fourth : he considers that our osten-

tations support and welcome to the representatives of that Ottoman Government, which is so hateful to every Greek Christian, is THE GREATEST OBSTACLE to the work of re-uniting the now divided Church of Christ.

The opinion which he has formed of the religious condition of the Greeks has been corroborated by recent events.

He describes the poor and the country people in Greece as strict in their observance of the Ordinances of the Church, and as of strong, simple faith in the teaching of the clergy. The upper and educated classes, on the contrary, are, he says, sunk in Rationalism—alienated from the services of religion and from the influence of the clergy, deterred by thousands from attendance at public worship by its cumbrous services, and by the doctrinal innovations which now lie as blots on the venerable Liturgies of the Eastern Church.

We pass now to speak of the Greek Services and Service Books.

The Service Books containing the prayers and offices used in the Greek Church are contained in twenty volumes folio, besides one large volume called the Regulation Book, which is taken up with directions how to use the rest; so that what was observed of the Church of England may now be observed of the Eastern Church, that many times there is more business to find out what is to be read, than to read it when found. But a reason why they require so large a number of books is because their service varies every day of the year, and every part of the day, owing to the number of saints' days and ecclesiastical events which they desire to commemorate. Also every day of the week is dedicated to some event connected with our redemption, *e.g.*, every Friday to the Passion of Christ, every Saturday to the Martyrs, &c.

Such is the number of saints, that every day in the year has some saint, and some days have several; so that when these saints' days cross the regular services of the week-day, and the festivals of the Church, it follows that several services must be combined in one.

I will briefly enumerate the Church Service Books, though it will not be possible to enter into their contents. The reader will see how large a library is required at the churches. These libraries are kept in the vestry.

1. There is the *Menæon*, a book of hymns and services for saints' days. This book is divided into twelve volumes in folio, one for each month.

2. The *Octœchos*, a book with music, in two volumes, folio, divided into eight voices or tones, each tone containing services for one week.

3. The *Common Service Book*, supple-

menting these two in case any additional prayers or hymns are wanted.

4. The Psalter and the Hours. The Psalter is divided into twenty portions, and the whole read through in a week, as they have three services a day.

5. The Prayer Book, containing ordinary daily prayers, if there should happen not to be a saint's day. This book contains the Communion Office.

6. The Lenten *Triodion* and the Pentecostarion, or Flowery Triode; one to be used four weeks before Easter, and the other from Easter to Whitsun Day.

8. The Lives of the Saints, which are read in monasteries on Sunday mornings.

9. The Book of the Four Gospels.

10. The Ritual, or the Offices of Marriage, Baptism, Burial, &c. And as it would be impossible for every layman to carry these twenty volumes to church, the members of the congregation are generally sup-



plied with books of private devotion, which they can use for themselves.

The Services consist of Vespers, Matins, and Liturgy ; the Easterns beginning their day with the evening, a usage which the West, including the English Church, preserves by commencing to celebrate a festival at the evening service next before the day on which it falls. The Matins are celebrated at dawn of day, the Liturgy at the third hour.

Three Liturgies are in use in the Russian Church : S. Basil's\* on particular days ; S. Chrysostom's ordinarily ; that of the Presanctified on Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent.† The Priests alone communicate

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\* S. Basil's is a more ancient offshoot of the great parent Liturgy of S. James than even S. Chrysostom's is.

† The Presanctified is the Liturgy used when there is a celebration without a Consecration.

every day, an innovation as old as the time of S. Chrysostom.

Many of the prayers are said in secret by the priest; the people taking no part except by bowing and crossing themselves whenever he says, "Lord, have mercy." The proper responses are made by a deacon, a reader, and singers. It generally happens that the priest is praying with his face to the east, while the choir is singing hymns, so that it would be impossible for the congregation to join in the service. This practice is said to have originated from the idea of mediation which they connected with their priests.

A large proportion of the service devolves on the Reader, who stands on or near the ambo, a slightly elevated platform: but he usually performs his task in a very hurried manner, owing to the extreme length of the daily service. The congregation, who stand during the ser-

vice, even when receiving the Holy Communion, support themselves by resting their arms on stalls or on crutches, which are provided. They are unprovided with books, and were they provided, they could make but little use of them, because the Rubric varies for every day in the year, as well as for every service in the year.

Preaching is but little resorted to except during Lent. In the seventeenth century it was forbidden in Russia. The last Patriarch of Moscow procured the banishment of several Priests to Siberia for preaching sermons, on the pretext that the Lord had always operated through His mere word, and had thus founded His Church without further explaining it, wherefore it was not needful for His clergy to do so.

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And now our task is done. No attempt has been made either to exaggerate faults

or virtues, but to gather up as many facts in as small a focus as possible.

Every Catholic-minded Christian must be permitted to express a hope that as the *past* history of the Eastern Church is glorious,—so her *future* history will be glorious also, however dead and corrupt he may consider her *present* condition in some few respects to be. We cannot but hope for this, whatever our opinions may be as to the likelihood of such a hope being realized in our time.

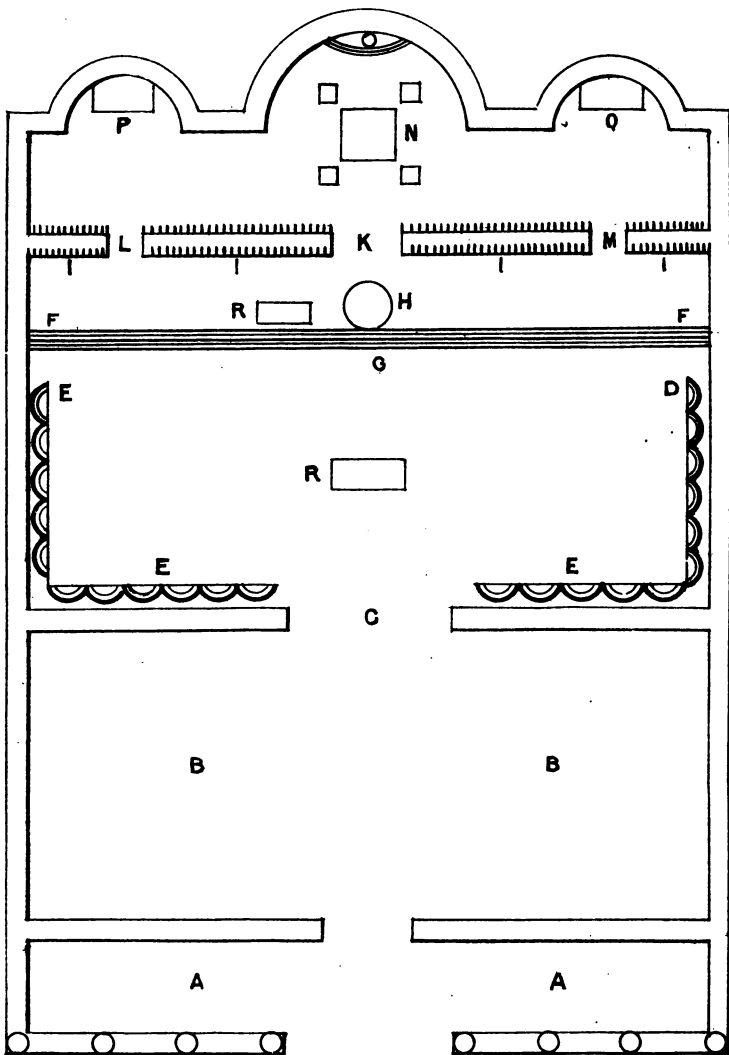
And we, as a nation, may have more to do with realizing or with defeating such a hope, than we are willing to allow. The present sufferings and degradation of the Greek Church through the wide extent of the Turkish Empire, may be more our fault than her own. Our policy has lately been to support that great Infidel Empire at the expense of its Christian subjects. Yet, notwithstanding this, the Christians are

as surely increasing, as the Turks are surely dying out. That this is the case, and that the Eastern Church is still a *living* Church, is proved from one little statistical fact alone.

In the year 1830, the town of Smyrna contained a population of 80,000 Turks, and 20,000 Christians. In the year 1860 it contained a population of 41,000 Turks, and 75,000 Christians. In thirty years the Turks decreased from 80,000 to 41,000; and the Christians increased from 20,000 to 75,000.

And this is a specimen of the change going on in the Turkish Empire; the Christian peasant works, and thrives, and multiplies. The Turk smokes his cigarettes, and decays away.

May we hope, then, that our boasted policy of non-intervention will soon be applied where it is most wanted, and has been least adopted: viz., in the matter of



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|-------------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| A. A. The Narthex or Porch.               | III. The Iconostasis.        |
| B. B. The Trapsa.                         | K. The Holy Doors.           |
| C. The door into the Church.              | L. The North Door.           |
| D. The Bishops seat.                      | M. The South Door.           |
| E. E. Other seats.                        | N. The holy Table.           |
| F. F. The places where the singers stand. | O. The holy Throne.          |
| G. The steps up to the Altar.             | P. The Table of proposition. |
| H. The Ambon.                             | Q. The Sacristy.             |
| R. R. The Desk where Books are laid.      |                              |



the disputes between the Infidel Empire of Turkey and the Christian Empire of Russia ?

Will not such a course be at once good Christianity and good policy ?

Two-thirds of European Turkey are Christian at the present moment—but the weakness of the Turkish Empire against Russia is very much the result of her ungenerous policy towards her Christian subjects. Christians are practically not allowed to hold land, to give evidence in court, *nor to serve in the army*. It is because the strength of the Mussulman population is exhausted in watching against, and oppressing the Christian portion of the Empire, that there exists any necessity of aid from England. If we, by non-interference, compel Turkey to do justice to all her subjects, we shall obviate the necessity for English blood being wasted in defence of an Infidel Empire. Tell Turkey that

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she must henceforth rely on her own subjects, and she will be forced to adopt a generous policy towards them: whereas now the Christians in Turkey are treated as the Jews were by Pharaoh—like them *feared* by their masters, because of their numbers and intelligence.

The Turkish Empire contains 24,000,000 of people; and 24,000,000 of free men, if they *were* free, might defend themselves against the world: the *defensive* strength of such a nation, were it called out, is far greater than the *offensive* strength of Russia. And as the writer to whom I am mostly indebted for these remarks,\* further adds—“It is absurd to suppose that a nation of 24,000,000 of persons should require the constant wet-nursing of England and France to carry them safely through their second infancy. We

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\* Rev. W. Denton.

are bearing at this moment the additional weight of £10,000,000 to our National Debt: we have to weep over the deaths of many thousands of Englishmen in the Crimean campaign: we maintain at a great expense a large Mediterranean fleet to be ready to defend Turkey against all assailants, only *because* the Sultan will not do justice to his *Christian subjects*."

Let us do justice and fear not—if Russia should come against us, from the East or from the West, in the same Lord we might be confident, Who has delivered us from enemies, mightier than Russia, in many a battle by land and sea.

And, then, as regards the Church: the Church, so oppressed for five hundred years by her infidel task-masters—might we not hope that she would come forth from the furnace of affliction, purified by her long trial; and that, *herself* regenerate

and reformed, she might be a rallying point round which *other* Eastern Christians might gather; ~~an~~ *example* in purity and in doctrine which *others* might copy!

## NOTE.

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NOTE REFERRED TO ON PAGE 23.

THE East and the West were united for the first ten centuries.

Their quarrels, however, began in the year A.D. 451, in which year the Third General Council was held at Chalcedon. The Monophysites, (or believers in only one Nature in the Person of Christ) were condemned at this Council, and have ever since been severed from the Orthodox Communion.

For some six centuries after this Council, the wounds, which this and other religious disputes made in the Church, were kept continually open; the Emperors vainly endeavouring to keep peace and uphold the truth between the two parties, the Pope and the Patriarch. At length, in the year A.D. 1054, the breach became incurable. In January of that year, Pope Leo IX., at the request of the Emperor, sent over three Legates to Constantinople to effect a reconciliation. But the negotiations were unavailing. A written deed of Anathema, cutting off the Patriarch Michael Cerularius and all his adherents

from fellowship with Rome, was placed by the Legates on the great altar of S. Sophia, July 16th, 1054. This act virtually separated the Eastern and Western Churches, and that separation has proved a lasting one for eight hundred years.

This unchristian conclusion to the negotiation cannot be charged to Leo, who died soon after the departure of the Legates for the East: but either to the violence of the ambassadors themselves, or to Hildebrand, who was at this time the real director of the Papacy.











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